











Benezel, Anthony, 1713-1784.

# **OBSERVATIONS**

ON THE

SITUATION, DISPOSITION,

AND

CHARACTER

OFTHE

## INDIAN NATIVES

OF THIS

CONTINENT.

I will declare the Decree: The LORD hath said unto me, Thou are my Son, this Day have I begotten thee. Ask of me, and I half give thee the Heathen for thine Inheritance, and the systemost Parts of the Earth for thy Poflession. PSALS 7.

Open thy Mouth for the Dumb, in the Cause of all such as are appointed to Desirution. Prov. xxxi. 8.

#### PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED AND SOLD BY JOSEPH CRUKSHANK, 131

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# PREFACE.

HE writer of the following sheets has thrown together a few facts, to obviate fome mistakes which have been embraced, respecting the Natives of this land; he neither wishes to flatter those of his own colour by acknowledging that they are superior to the tawney Indian; otherwise than as they excel him in acts of beneficence and of an imitation of the the great Author of the Christian Religion; whose name they have assumed; nor to exalt the character of the poor untutored Indian, at the expense of truth, by over-rating their chastity, their love of justice, and hospitality; particularly in their affectionate reception of our Ancestors on their first settlement of Pennfylvania; nor to fay more in their favour than is supported by the concurrent testimonies of historians of various religious professions and different nations.

Neither is it intended to justify these people in any of their acts of cruelty:

The motives which have induced the writer to engage in this publication are superior to party views; an apprehension of duty, and universal good-will to mankind. And if the Indian is represented to have been oppressed and injured, it is not to provoke a spirit of retaliation, nor to excite a discontent, but to state to the view of the public, wherein they have been aggrieved; and wherein they have been culpable, that the people of these states may see they have not been free from blame, in hopes that a more candid and indulgent consideration of their situation may excite in us humanity and tenderness.

Be not offended therefore if the Indian is represented as a rational being as well as ourselves, if having an immortal soul, capable of receiving the refining influence of our holy religion, it is that he may be allowed to dwell in safety, and rejoice in the opportunity, which a return of peace, may afford to instruct him in the knowledge of the true God.

If doubts should remain, whether the Indians are, indeed susceptible of those religious impressions as here mentioned; the reader is referred to the several accounts of the successful labours of the pi-

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ous Thomas Mayew, John Elliott, and others in New-England, published by themselves; and also a publication of a more late date, by David Brainard, of New-Jersey who resided among them several years, entitled, Mirabila Dei inter Indicos: Or the Rise and Progress of a remarkable Work of Grace amongst a Number of Indians, in the Provinces of New-Jersey and Pennsylvania.

SOME

#### SOME

### OBSERVATIONS

ONTHE

### INDIAN NATIVES

OF THIS

CONTINENT.

tinent with very extensive frontiers, bordering upon a vast wilderness, inhabited by the native Indians, it becomes a subject worthy the most serious attention of every friend of mankind, every lover of his country, to be truly informed what is the situation and disposition of that people, so far as it may have an influence upon our duty as Christians, and our peace and safety as members of Civil Society: And that we may not make a rash estimate

estimate of our own importance, or of the incapacity of those people for religious improvement, the following observations and quotations are recommended to the serious perusal of every reader, as they give a view of the opinions of some of the early settlers, of different deno-

minations, in this continent.

The first settlers of Pennsylvania, who had full opportunities of being acquainted with the nature and disposition of the Natives, and who made it a principal point to observe strict justice in all their transactions with them, have left us very favourable memorials of the long continued kindness they experienced from these people: the great disadvantages to which their ignorance and roving temper fubjected them, our forefathers thought it their duty to endeavour to draw them from, by exemplary acts of benevolence and instruction; which pious practice has fince been successfully pursued, by feveral well disposed persons in New-England, New-Jersey, and elsewhere: several of whom have transmitted satisfactory accounts of their labours.

From these publications as well as from the remembrance of some yet living, it is evident, that the natural disposition of the Indians has generally been to shew kindness to the Europeans, in their early settlements; and that their mental powers are equally with our own capable of improvement; that the apparent difference in them, as well as in the Black People and us, arises principally from the advantages of our education, and manner of life.

Some writers have represented Indians as naturally ferocious, treacherous, and ungrateful, and endeavoured to establish this character of them, from some particular transaction which hath happened on special occasions: but no conclusion of their original character should be drawn from instances in which they have been provoked, to a degree of fury and vengeance, by unjust and cruel treatment from European Aggressors; of which most histories of the first settlements on this continent furnish instances, and which writers have endeavoured to colour and vindicate, by reprobating the character of those poor people.

It is a matter of fact, proved by most Historical Accounts of the trade carried on with the Indians at our first acquaintance with them, as well as in the first fettlements made on this continent, that

they generally manifested themselves to be kind, hospitable and generous to the Europeans, fo long as they were treated with justice and humanity; but when the adventurers from a thirst of gain, over reached the Natives, and they faw fome of their friends and relations treacherously entrapped and carried away to be fold for flaves, \* themselves injurioufly treated and driven from their native possessions, what could be expected but that fuch a fordid conduct in the Europeans, would produce a change of difposition in the Indians. The early settlers of New-Jersey have always confirmed the testimony of the Pennsylvanians, with respect to the good usage they met with

<sup>\*</sup> Amongst the many instances of this kind which might be given, that are recorded by different authors, the following is most striking, viz. One Hunt an early trader with the Indians of New-England, after a prosperous trade with the Natives, enticed between 20 or 30 on board his yessel, and contrary to the public faith, clapped them under hatches, and sild them to the Spaniards at Malaga; but the Indians resented it, and revenged themselves on the next English that came on the coast. Neal's History of New-England, page 21.

with from the Indians. The writer of the History of that Province informs us, page 440, "That, for almost a centu-"ry, the Natives had all along maintain-" ed an intercourse of great cordiality " and friendship with the inhabitants."

It is well known that the Indians' deportment to each other is peaceable and inoffensive; esteeming sudden anger unbecoming and ignominious; they feldom differ with their neighbour, or do them any harm or injury, except when intoxicated by strong liquor, of which they are fond, to an enormous degree: this is the general character given of Indians, by all

impartial writers.

The noted French author Charlevoix, who appears to have been deep in his inquiries into their manners and disposition, in his long travels from Quebec, thro' the lakes and down the Mississipi to Florida, informs, "That with a mein and " appearance altogether favage; and " with manners and customs which fa-" vour the greatest barbarity, the Indi-" ans enjoy all the advantages of fociety. " At first view, says he, one would imagine them without form of government, law or fubordination, and fubject to the wildest caprice; neverthe-« less,

e less, they rarely deviate from certain maxims and usages founded on good " fense alone, which holds the place of law, and supplies in some fort, the want of legal authority. \* Reason alone is capable of retaining them in a kind of subordination; not the less 66 effectual, towards the end proposed, 66 for being entirely voluntary. They 66 manifest much stability in the engage-66 66 ments they have folemnly entered upon; patient in affliction, as well as in 66 their fubmission to what they appre-66 hend to be the appointment of Provi-66 dence; in all which they manifest a 66 nobleness of soul, and constancy of 66 mind, at which we rarely arrive with all our Philosophy and Religion. As they are neither flaves to ambition, nor " interest;

<sup>\*</sup> Human Nature, even in its rudest state, is possessed of a strong sense of right and wrong; a pure principle which is not confined to any name or form, but disfuses itself as universally as the sun; it is "That light which enlightens every man "coming into the world," John i. 9. All those who yield to its impressions are brethren in the full extent of the expression, however differing in other respects.

" interest; the two passions which have for much weakened in us those senti-

"ments of humanity, which the kind

"Author of Nature has engraven in the human heart, and kindled those of co-

" vetousness, which are as yet generally

" unknown amongst them."

Is it not notorious that they are generally kinder to us than we are to them? There is scarce an instance occurs, but that they treat every white man, who comes amongst them, with respect; which is not the case from us to them.

Their modest conduct to women who have been captured by them, is certainly worthy of commendation, much exceeding what would be expected, in like cases, from the lower class amongst our-

felves.

It is also acknowledged by all impartial persons, who have been conversant with Indians, that they have generally manifested a faithfulness to the engagements they have entered into for the safety of any person they have undertaken to protect, far exceeding that to be found amongst the generality of white people; as also in the performance of those covenants which they have consirmed by giving belts of wampum.

Charlevoix

Charlevoix farther observes, "That whoever infinuates himfelf in their esteem, will find them sufficiently do-66 cile to do any thing he defires; but 66 that this is not easily gained, as they 66 generally give it to merit only, of 66 which they are as good judges as most 66 amongst us. He adds, that these good 66 dispositions are very much eclipsed by the cruelty they fometimes exercife 66 66 upon such of their enemies, whom 66 they have devoted to death; as well as 66 the right they almost universally claim 66 to private revenge. They confider it 99 as a point of honour to avenge inju-CC ries done to their friends, particularly the death of a relation; blood for blood, death for death, can only fatisfy the furviving friends of the injured party." Something of the same law of retaliation was usual amongst the ancient Jews and Romans.

From this principle, as well as from the high notions they have of military glory, the young Indians fometimes suddealy pursue violent measures, contrary

to the mind of their elders.

"It is, fays the fame Author, a feeling experience of the Christian Reiligion, which alone is able to perfect

their good qualities, and correct that which is wrong in them; this is common to them with other men; but what is peculiar to them is, that they bring fewer obstacles to this improvement, after, thro' the operation of grace, they have once began to believe in the great truths of the gospel."

The good disposition of the more southern Indians is fenfibly fet forth by De las Cafas, Bishop of Chapia, who spent much time and labour in endeavouring to preferve the Indians of New-Spain, from the grievous oppression they laboured under, in his representation to the King and Council of Spain, which, with little variation, may well be applied to the natives of most parts of the continent. He fays, "I was one of the first who went to America, neither curiofity nor interest prompted me to undertake so long and dangerous a voyage; the faving the fouls of the Heathens was my fole object. Why was I not permitted, even at the expense of my blood, to ransom so many thousands of fouls who fell unhappy victims to avarice or lust .-- It is faid, that barbarous executions were necessary to punish or check the rebellion of the " Ameri-

Americans; but to whom was this owing? did not those people receive the Spaniards who first came amongst 66 them, with gentleness and humanity? 66 did they not shew more joy, in proportion, in lavishing treasure upon them, than the Spaniards did greediness in receiving it?——but our avarice was not yet satisfied——tho' they gave up to us their land and their 66 riches, we would take from them their wives, their children, and their liberty. --- To blacken these unhappy 66 people, their enemies affert, that they 66 are scarce human creatures-but 66 it is we ought to blush for having been less men, and more barbarous than they. They are represented as a stupid people, addicted to vice; but have they not contracted most of their vices from the examples of Christians? And as to those vices peculiar to themselves, have not the Christians " quickly exceeded them therein? Ne-23 vertheless it must be granted, that the Indians still remain untainted with many vices, usual amongst the Europeans; fuch as ambition, blasphemy, "treachery, and many like monsters, " which have not yet took place with

them; they have scarce an idea of them, so that, in effect, all the advan-66 tage we can claim, is to have more 66 elevated notions of things, and our 66 faculties more unfolded, and more 66 cultivated than theirs. Don't let us flatter our corruptions, nor voluntarily blind ourselves; all nations are equally free: one nation has no right to infringe upon the freedom of ano-66 ther: let us do towards those people, 66 as we would have them to have done 66 to us, if they had landed upon our shore, with the same superiority of strength. And, indeed, why should not things be equal on both fides. How long has the right of the strongest been allowed to be the balance of 66 justice. What part of the Gospel 66 gives a fanction to fuch a doctrine. 66 In what part of the whole earth did the Apostles and first promulgators of the Gospel, ever claim a right over the 6 lives, the freedom, or the substance of 6 the Gentiles. What a strange me-"thod this of propagating the Gospel, that holy law of grace, which from " being flaves to fatan, initiates us into " the freedom of the children of God." To

To this pious Bishop's testimony, may be added that of Page Dupart, in his History of Louisiana, who during a residence of fixteen years, appears to have been careful in his enquiries, relating to the nature and disposition of those several nations feated in a space of 1500 miles on both fides the Miffiffipi, with fome of whom he was intimately converfant, whom he represents as generally endowed with good fense, kindness and moderation. He tells us, "That upon " an acquaintance with the Indians, he " was convinced that it is wrong to denominate them Savages, as they are ca-" pable of making a good use of their reason, and their sentiments are just; that they have a degree of prudence, faithfulness and generolity, exceeding " that of nations who would be offended at being compared with them. " No people, he fays, are more ho-fpitable and free than the Indians; " hence they might be esteemed an hap-

" at being compared with them.

" No people, he fays, are more ho" spitable and free than the Indians;
" hence they might be esteemed an hap" py people, if that happiness was not
" impeded by their passionate fondness
" for spirituous liquors, and the foolish
" notion they hold in common, with
" many professing Christians, of gaining
" reputation and esteem, by their prowB 2 " ess.

" ess in war:" both which potent evils, have from views of policy or interest, been much encouraged by their European neighbours"

From him, as also from some other authors, we learn that some of these nations appear but little inclined to war, and there are others who absolutely refuse to take any part therein, but patiently bear the hard-ships which the violence of other Indians fubjects them to; of which good difpolition we have had instances amongst ourselves in the case of the Moravian Indians.

Duprat observes upon the whole, "That there needs but prudence and " good fense, to perfuade the Indians to "what is reasonable, and to preserve their friendship without interruption. "He adds, We may fafely affirm that the differences we have had with them, have been more owing to us than to them. When they are treated infolently or oppressively, they have no less fensibility of injuries than others. those who have occasion to live among them, will have fentiments of humanity, they will meet in them with men." Many

Many more authors might be quoted, declarative of the commendable qualities which have appeared in the Indians, whilst uncorrupted by an intercourse with the Europeans, and which is still the case in the disposition of those nations situated at a distance from us.\* This particularly

\* Note, In a late History of the British Dominions in North-America, printed in 1773, p 219, the Author speaking of the Natives, says, "The nearer the Indians of Canada are viewed, the more good qualities are discovered in them; for most of the principles which serve to regulate their conduct; the general maxims by which they govern themselves; and the essential parts of their character, discover nothing

" of the barbarian."

Of the Five Nation Indians, M. Delapoterie. a French Author, (wherein he very much agrees with Cadwalader Colden, late prefident of New-York) in his account of those Indians, says, "They are thought by a common mistake, to be mere barbarians, always thirsting for human blood; but their true character is very different: they are indeed the fiercest and most formidable people in North-America; and at the fametime, as politic and judicious, as well can be conceived, which appears from the management of all the affairs they transact, not only with the French and English, but likewise with almost all the Indian Nations of this vast continent.

" Speaking

larly appears from accounts left us by Jonathan Carver, who from the year 1766, to the year 1768, inclusive, visited feveral Nations west of the river Mississipi, and the upper lakes. Speaking of the general temper of the Indians situate in those parts, he tells us, "They are ex-" tremely liberal to each other, and sup-" ply the desiciencies of their friends, "with any superfluity of their own That

<sup>&</sup>quot; Speaking of the Cherokees, and other South-" ern Indians, page 157, he fays, Thefe Indi-" ans look upon the end of life, to be living " happily; and for this purpose, their whole " cultoms are calculated to prevent avarice, " which they think imbitters life; and nothing is a more severe reflection amongst them, than to fay, That a man loves his own. To prevent the " rife and propagation of fuch a vice, upon the " death of any Indian, they burn all that belongs to the deceased, that there may be no temptation for the parent to hoard up a fuperfluity of arms, and domestic conveniences for his children. They strengthen this custom. by a superstition, that it is agreeable to " the foul of the deceased, to burn all they leave, " and that affliction follow those who use any of their goods. They cultivate no more land than is necessary for their plentiful subsistance, " and hospitality to strangers."

66 ----That governed by the plain and 66 equitable laws of Nature, every one is remarked folely according to his deferts; and their equality, condition, 66 66 manners and privileges, with that con-66 66 stant sociable familiarity which prevails 66 thro' every Indian Nation, animates 66 them with a pure and truly patriotic fpirit, that tends to the general good 66 66 of the Society to which they belong. The Indians, he fays, are not without fome fense of Religion, such as proves

that they worship the great Creator, with a degree of purity unknown to nations who have greater opportuni-

ties of improvement. "That the pleas of Indians for mak-

ing war, are in general more rational 66 and just, than such as are brought by 66 Europeans, in vindication of their proceedings. To fecure the rights of hunting—to maintain the liberty 66 66 of passing thro' their accustomed tracts, 66 66 and to guard those lands which they 66 confider, from a long tenure, as their CC own, against any infringment, are the 66 general causes of those dissensions 66 which so often break out between the "Indian Nations. He agrees with Charlevoix, that the Indians feel in-" juries

" juries with exquifite fentibility; whence they purfue vegeance with unremitting ardour."

Whilst in the Indian Country, he was instrumental in preventing the Chipeways and Nadowessis Indians from profecuting the war, which had during a course of 40 years, subsisted between them. This, the old Indians told him, they had long wished to put an end to; but that their endeavours were frustrated by the young warriors, of either nation, who could not restrain their ardour, when they met. They faid they should be happy, if some chief of the same pacific disposition as himself, and who possessed an equal degree of resolution and coolness, would fettle in the country between the two nations; for by the interference of fuch a person, an accommodation, which, on their part, they fincerely defired might be brought about. From this circumstance, as well as what Duprat and others observe of the peaceable disposition of some of the Indians, we may well conclude, that fusceptible as those untutored people are, to the dictates of reason, if the professors of Christianity had, by a proper use of that superior knowledge they were favoured with, honeftly laboured, thro' Divine

Divine help, to acquaint them with the nature and precepts of the Gospel; to make them sensible of that universal brotherhood that loving, meek, forgiving spirit, which the precepts and example of our Saviour call for, it would have been a matter of the greatest joy both to them and us; but the reverse has happened, except in a few particular instances; the different denominations of Christians have rather added fresh suel to this false sire, by inciting the poor Natives, when it has suited their political purpose, to violence amongst themselves, and to become parties in the wars they have waged one against another.

A disposition to misrepresent and blacken the Indians, in order to justify, or palliate the practice of unjust and cruel measures towards them, has particularly appeared in the affecting case of those Indians, denominated Moravian Indians, settled on the Muskingum, a branch of the Ohio; who have, of late, deeply suffered on account of what they thought the peaceable spirit of the Gospel required of them. A true representation of the state and disposition of those Indians, as well as an account of this deplorable transaction, drawn from the account giv-

en by the survivors, appears necessary, as well to rescue those innocent sufferers from the odium which has been so unjustly cast upon them, as to prevent strangers, who may come amongst us, from forming such erronious ideas of the Natives, as may have an influence upon the welfare of both them, and the White People.

The first gathering of those Indians into a good degree of civil and religious order, was about 30 years ago, by means of one of them, named Papunhank. The place of their residence at that time, was at Whihaloofing, on the Sufquehanna, about 200 miles from Philadelphia. In the conversation they had with some ferious people, in a vifit to that city, about the year 1756, at a time when the province was distressed by the Indian war, they appeared to have a feeling fense of that inward change of heart which the Gospel requires, and declared their particular disapprobation of war, and fixed resolution to take no part therein; apprehending it to be displeasing to the Great Being, who, as one of them expressed it, " Did not make men to destroy men; " but to love and affift each other." They held a conference with the Governor, in

in which they informed him, "That "they remembered the old friendship "which subsisted between their Foresa-"thers and ours; that they were great lovers of peace, and had not taken

" any part in the war."

They delivered three white prisoners which they had recovered from the other Indians. They defired that no strong drink should be given them, nor be sent to their town. The speaker, Papunhank, appeared serious, as under a sense of the Divine Presence, and concluded with a solemn prayer, with which the whole audience seemed much assected.

About 13 years past, these Indians meeting with difficulty, from an encrease of White Settlers near them, by which spirituous liquors were brought to their towns; they removed to the Muskingum, a branch of the Ohio. In their perigrination thither, they were accompanied by some of the Moravians, who have long resided with them, and by their careful attention, both to their civil and religious concerns, never leaving them, even in the times of their greatest danger and difficulty, a near and steady connection between them took place.

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During

During the late troubles, these Indians adhering to the principles they had long professed, absolutely refused to take any part in the war, notwithstanding the threats and repeated abuses they received on that account from other tribes, particularly those parties which passed thro' their towns, in their way to our frontiers; whom they fometimes diffuaded from their hostile intentions, and prevailed upon to go back again; or warned the inhabitants of their danger. This humane conduct being confidered as obstructive to the hostile proceedings of the Tribes at war, was at length made the pretence of carrying them off. Accordingly, on the 4th of August, 1781, a string of Wampum was sent by the Chief of the Wyondats, who resided at Sandusky, with a message, letting them know, He was coming with a number of warriors; but biding them be not afraid, for he was their friend. In a few days after, 220 warriors arrived, when calling a council of the head men of the three Moravian towns, they acquainted them they were come to take them away; renderingit for a reason, "That they, and their Indians, were a great obstruction to them in their war-path." They returned

turned them this answer: "That it was " impossible for them to remove at that " time, and leave their corn behind them, " left they and their children should pe-" rish with hunger in the wilderness." To this, the Chief of the Wyondats, at first, feemed to attend; but being instigated by some white men in their company, they persisted in their resolution; and after killing many of the cattle and hogs, ripping up their bedding, and committing many other outrages, on the 28th of August, and Septmber, forced them from their three towns, in all between 3 and 400 persons; who, after a tedious journey in the wilderness, arrived at a branch of Sandusky creek, where the body of them were ordered to remain. Some of their principal men were fent to Major Arent Schuyler De Peyster, the English Commander at fort Detroit, who commended them, as a peaceable people, and exhorted them to remain fuch; but added, That many-complaints had been made of them; that they had given intelligence to his enemies, &c. he had fent for them; but that his instructions had been exceeded, in the ill-treatment they had received; that however he would provide for them. Thus

Thus the matter rested till the spring, 1782, when these Moravian Indians sinding corn scarce and dear at Sandusky, desired liberty to return to their settlements, to setch some of their corn, of which they had lest above 200 acres standing; which when granted, many of them went, among whom were several widows with their children, some of whom had been subjected to such extreme want, as to eat the carcases of the dead cattle and horses.

When the people at and about the Monongahela, understood a number of Indians were at the Moravian towns, they gave out, that the intention of those people was, to fall upon the back inhabitants, which ought to be prevented. Whereupon about 160 men got together, and fwimming their horses over the Ohio, came fuddenly upon the chief Moravian town. The first person who appeared, they shot at and wounded, when coming up to him, they found he was an half Indian, fon to John Bull, one of the Moravians, by an Indian woman, to whom he is regularly married; they killed and fealped him, and proceeded to the town. The Moravian Indians, who were mostly in the fields pulling corn.

corn, did not run off, as many of them might, if they had been conscious of any offence; but came of their own accord, into the town, at the call of the white people, who at first, expressed friendship to them; but soon after, violently seized and bound them, when the Helpers,\* of whom there were five of the most respectable, in the company, and others exhorted the younger, to submission and patience; telling them, they thought their troubles in this world, would foon be at an end, and they would be with their Saviour. They then fung and prayed together, till they were led out, one after the other, and inhumanly flaughtered; first the men, and then the women. Two boys, who made their escape, related these particulars. One of them lay in the heap of the dead, in a house, and was scalped; but recovering his senses, escaped: the other, who had hid himself under the floor, was an eye-witness of this tragic scene, and saw the blood of  $C_2$ the

<sup>\*</sup> These are Indians who assist the missionaries in keeping good order amongst their people, and upon occasion, give public exhortations.

the flain running in a stream. These Indians before being bound, were so little apprehensive of being charged with guilt, that they informed the White People, that more of their brethren were at another town to which they accompanied them; who in like manner fell a facrisice with them, to the barbarity of the whites. The dead bodies were afterwards burned with the houses. Before their death, they were also obliged to shew in what part of the woods they had concealed their effects, when the other Indians (as before mentioned) took them away.

Those at the third town having some intelligence of what passed, made their escape. One of the Helpers, who escaped relates, That in a conference they had with the other Helpers, when they considered what they should do in case of an attack, either from the Americans, or the Indians, who had taken part with the English, some of whom charged them of having, thro' the intelligence they gave to the Virginians, been the occasion of the flaughter of their brethren, at Goschaching; the result of their conference was, "Not to go away, nevertheless " to leave each one to act according to the feeling of his own heart. He added, 66 That

"That there was so much love amongst them, that he had never felt the like before." This is a summary of this dreadful transaction, as it is given by the principle leader of those that remain.

The Account, as it stands in the Penn-Sylvania Gazette, of April 17th, 1782, after giving an account of the incursions of the Indians, adds, " That the people being greatly alarmed, and having received intelligence that the Indian towns, on the Muskingum, had not " moved as they had been told——a" " number of men properly provided, collected and rendevoused on the Ohio, 66 opposite the Mingo Bottom, with a " defign to furprife the above towns " \_\_\_\_\_160 men fwam the river, and " proceeded to the towns on the Mus-" kingum, where the Indians had col-" lected a large quantity of provisions to supply their war-parties. They arrived at the town in the night, undifcovered, attacked the Indians in their cabbins, and fo completely furprifed them, that they killed and scalped upwards of 90, but a few making their escape, about 40 of which were warriors, the rest old women and chil-" dren. About 80 horses fell into their " hands,

"hands, which they loaded with the plunder, the greatest part furrs and fkins; and returned to the Ohio,

" without the loss of one man."

It is alledged, in vindication of this deliberate massacre, that 40 of those Indians were warriors, preparing to attack our frontiers; but this affertion contradicts it felf: for had it been the case, it is not likely they would have brought their wives, with the widows, and 34 children, who were slain with them, or have suffered them with themselves, to be thus murdered, without making the least resistance, or hurt to their murderers.

Soon after the death of these Indians, about 500 men, probably encouraged by this easy conquest assembled at the old Mingos on the west side of the Ohio, and being equipped, on horseback, set on for Sandusky, where the remaining part of the Moravian Indians resided, in order to destroy that settlement, and other Indian towns in those parts; but the Wyandots, and other Indians, having some knowledge of their approach, met them near Sandusky, when an engagement ensued, in which some of the assailants were killed, and several taken prisoners, amongst whom was the Commander Col. Crawford,

ford, and his fon-in-law. The Col. the Indians put to a cruel death, and killed

the other, with other prisoners.

Doubtless the cruelty exercised on the Col. and the death of the prisoners taken at Sandusky, was, in a great measure, owing to the murder of the peaceable Moravian Indians, at which they expressed much displeasure.

This grievous transaction appears in a yet more afflictive point of view, when it is considered, that the many threats had been thrown out against those Indians, both by the English and Americans, \* yet they took no step for their se-

curity,

<sup>\*</sup> As the Wyondat King in his Speech told them, "My coufins, you Christian Indians, in "Gnadenhutten, Shoenbrun and Salem, I am "concerned on your account, as I see you live in a dangerous situation. Two mighty and angry Gods stand opposite to each other, with their mouths wide open, and you stand best tween them, and are in danger of being crushed by the one or the other of them, or both, and crumbled with their teeth." To which the Christian Indians answered, Uncle, &c. &c. you Shawanees our Nephews——We have hitherto not seen our situation so dangerous as not to stay here. We live in peace with all mankind, and

eurity, trusting in the care of Heaven, and the protection of the government, under which they had lived many years with due submission. But such is the corrupting nature of war, that it gradually hardens the heart, to a fearful degree of insensibility. Yet surely a time of rousing must come, when, if not given up to obduracy, equal to their delusion, the blood of these innocent people will be heavy upon all concerned in the shedding of it.

We cry out against Indian cruelty; but is any thing which Indians have done, (all circumstances considered) more inconsistent with justice, reason, and humanity, than the murder of those Moravian Indians; a peaceable, innocent people, whose conduct, even when under the scalping-knife, evidenced a dependance on Divine Help for support, as much becoming Christians, as their sufferings in support of their religious principles,

and

and have nothing to do with the war. We defire and request no more, than that we may be permitted to live in peace and quiet——We will preserve your words and consider themand fend you, Uncle, an answer.

and their fidelity to the government had before manifested them to be our special friends.

In vindication of this barbarous transaction, endeavours have been used, to make us believe, that the whole race of Indians are a people prone to every vice, and destitute of every virtue; and without a capacity for improvement. What is this but blasphemously to arraign the wisdom of our Creator, and infinuate, that the existence He has given them, is incompatible with his moral government of the world. But this must be admitted to make way for the proposal of endeavouring the universal extirpation of Indians from the face of the earth. Such, alas! is the manner in which too many of the pretended followers, of the meek and fuffering Saviour of the world, would fulfil the prophecy concerning him, "That he shall have the Heathen for his inheritance, and the uttermost Parts of "the earth for his possession." And who himself declared, "That he came not to destroy mens' lives, but to save them;" and when fainting in his last agony, under mockery and derision, conceived at once a prayer, and an apology for his murderers: " Father, forgive them, they

" know not what they do." Now so far as we know the prevailance of this spirit of love and forgiveness, over the pride and wrath of our hearts, fo far are we the disciples and followers of Christ; and fo far only, can we truly pray for, and witness the coming of His kingdom: and on the other hand, fo far as we are subject to a vindictive and unforgiving spirit, so far we are in a state of alienation from God, and reprobate concerning a true faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, which works only by love, to the purifying of the heart from every dispofition of a contrary nature. Was this distinction always observed in our religious discriminations of mankind, we should get thro' abundance of frivolous and fuperficial prejudices which divide the Christian World, and be convinced, that it is not the colour of our skins, outward circumstances or profession, but the state and temper of the mind and will, which makes us Jews or Gentiles; Christians or Heathens; Elect or Reprobate, in the fight of God. That this change of heart is the fure effect of the coming of Christ's kingdom, was evidenced in many of those Indians, whose case is here represented; who, by yield-

ing to the operations of Divine Grace, were brought to an entire reformation of mind and manners. That favage ferocity, with all those dazzling notions of honour, to be gained from the destruction of mankind, so natural to the fallen sons of Adam, have gradually melted away in these Indians, into a frame of meekness, humility and love, which supported them in that lamb-like submission, under that remarkable fuccession of trials and afflictions which was permitted to attend them; whereby many of them are at length put beyond the reach of enmi-

ty.

We are told by a late Author, who appears zealous for the extirpation of all Indians, "That for a keg of whiskey, "you might induce any Indian to murder" his wife, children and best friend." That this is not a just character of Indians, all, who are acquainted with that people, can testify: yet there are, doubtlefs, ill-disposed people amongst them, as well as amongst us, who under the dreadful power of strong drink, (which has an uncommon bad effect on them) may be led into the greatest enormities. Neverthelefs, as has been mentioned, impartial men, who from good views, have

vifited

visited or resided with them, represent them in a very different light: as Charlevoix, and other French and Spanish Authors: John Elliott, Thomas Mayew; John Sergeant, in New-England; David Brainard and others in the Jerseys; and more lately the Moravians in different parts. These have spent much time and labour for the civil and religious improvement of the Natives, in which they all expressed satisfaction and comfort.

And it is worthy of peculiar notice, that in the wars the Indians have waged upon our frontiers, there has fearce been an instance of any of those Indians, who had made a serious profession of the Christian Religion, having been concerned in the barbarous eruptions against us.\*

Thefe

<sup>\*</sup>Neal, p. 30, 2d. vol. fays, "There is one thing which deferves to be taken notice of; that is, the unshaken fidelity of the Indian Converts, during the whole course of the war, whom neither persuasion nor threatnings of their countrymen, could draw from their allegiance to the English. The government had a watchful eye upon them at first, and the mob being incensed against Indians, could hardly be restrained from facrificing the Converts to their fury."

These have generally put themselves under the protection of their several governments; as former instances in New-England, and the instance of the Moravian Indians, both in the former, and late

war, will undoubtedly evince.

The people of Pennfylvania, and New-Jerseys, as has been already noted, have had full opportunity to experience the good disposition and kindness of the Indians, so long as they were treated with justice and humanity, as particularly appears from the many striking instances of probity, gratitude and beneficence, on record, at a time when the disparity of their numbers was so great, that they might have easily destroyed the settlers,

had

The fame Author observes, That the government was so well faissied with the fidelity of the Indians, that instead of difarming them, as was defired, the Indians on Martha's Vineyard, who were twenty to one in number to the White People, continued so faithful to their engagements, that they were supplied with all forts of ammunition, and the defence of the Island committed to their care; and so faithful were they to their trust, that all people that landed upon the Island, during the course of the war, were, without distinction, brought before the Governor.

had they been so minded. But so far were they from molesting them, that they were rather as nursing fathers to them; granting them ample room for settlements; freely assisting, them with the means of living, at easy rates; manifesting, thro' a long course of years, a strict care and sidelity in observing their treaties, and sulfilling their other engagements; which there is the greatest reason to conclude would still be the case, in every part of the continent, if the same equitable and kind measures were pursued.

Upon the whole, it is a matter of undoubted persuasion, with impartial people, who have been conversant with Indians, that if their dipositions and natural powers are duly considered, they will be found to be equally with our own, capable of improvement in knowledge and virtue, and that the apparent difference between us and them, is chiefly owing to our different ways of life, and different ideas of what is necessary and desirable, and the advantage of education, which puts it in our power to gloss over our own conduct, however evil; and to set theirs, however defensible, in the most odious point of light.

Much

Much of their blamable conduct, now complained of, is certainly imputable to a long continued train of fraudulent and corrupt practices, in our intercourse with them, especially, the fatal introduction of strong drink, of which they have often complained, \* and desired it might not

\* At the treaty at Carlifle, in 1753, the Indians fay, "The Rum ruins us. We beg you." would prevent its coming in fuch quantities, "We delire it may be forbidden, and none fold."

in the Indian country; but that if the Indians will have any, they may go amongst the In-

"habitants, and deal with them. When thefe

"Whiskey traders come, they bring 30 or 40 Kegs, and put them before us, and make us

" drink, and get all the skins that should go to pay the debts we have contracted, for goods

" pay the debts we have contracted, for goods bought of the fair trader; and by this means.

" we not only ruin ourselves, but them too.

"The wicked whitkey fellers, when they have once got the Indians in liquor, make them fell their very clothes from their backs. In fhort, if this practice be continued, we must be inevitably ruined. We most earnestly, therefore,

" befeech you to remedy it."

We find an early record, in the History of New-Jersey to the credit of the people of that day, That at a conference they held with the Indians, where 8 Kings or Chiefs were present, the speaker expressed not be brought amongst them, by which instead of allaying the ferment of corrupt nature, by a good example, and the good instruction, which our superior knowledge would enable us to give them, too many have been instrumental in working them up to a state of distraction, which when it has burst forth in vengeance upon ourselves, is made a pretence for destroying them, as the they were wholly the aggressors.

That Indians may be tempted or provoked to the perpetration of great evils, by the intemperate love and use of strong

liquors,

liquors, is eafily conceived; but whether they, who, to gratify the cravings of fordid avarice, furnish them with the intoxicating potion, and then take advantage of their situation, to impose upon them, and tempt them to evil, are not principally accountable, for the crimes they commit, and their consequences, is not a query worthy of their most awfulconsideration.

Had the views of the inhabitants of the colonies, been more just and wife, and their conduct towards the Natives regulated by a benevolence worthy of the Christian Name, every reasonable purpose of settling in their country, might have been fully accomplished, and they at the same time become, generally, as well civilized, as those sew who were under the care of the Moravians, at the Muskingum.

The accounts of the wicked policy and cruelties exercised by the Spaniards upon their Indians, we read with horror, without considering how far ourselves are in a degree guilty of something of the

fame.

How many peaceable Indians, refiding amongst us, have formerly as well as lately, been murdered, with impunity, to fatisfy the rage of angry men, tho' under the protection of the law, with-

out any attonement being made. \*

What destruction both of Indians and others, thro' a violent infringement on what they apprehended to be their rights. What dreadful havock has the desire of gain made amongst them, by the sale of spirituous liquors, &c. &c. Surely this must be accounted for, when an inquisition for blood takes place. Indeed interest, as well as duty, should induce the people, in general, to endeavour the bringing the Indians off from those sale habits and prejudices, which are as obstructive to their own happiness, as they are dangerous to ours.

To what degree of distress, a few Indians can reduce a country, let the Annals of New-England testify, particularly by the long and distressing wars with the Eastern Tribes, † who upon the mak-

ing

<sup>\*</sup> At the Coneflogo Manor, Lancaster town, and several othersinstances.

<sup>†</sup> D. Neal, fpeaking of the occasion of this war with the Eastern Indians, 2d, vol. page 24, fays, "That the Europeans cheated the

ing a peace with them, were found to be so small a number, that it occasioned the celebrated Cotton Mather, to take up the following lamentation: " Surely . we had smitten the whole army of the Indians, that fought against us, twenty-66 three years ago, from one end of the 66 land to the other; only there were left 66 a few wounded amongst them in the 66 east, and now they have rifen up, every man, and have set the whole coun-66 try on fire. Certainly a more humbling 66 66 matter cannot be related. Moreover, is 66 it not a very humbling thing, that when 66 about an hundred Indians dur/t begin a 66 war upon all these populous colonies, an 66 army of a thousand English raised, must 66 not kill one of them all, but instead there-66 of, more of our soldiers perished by sickness and hardships, than we had ene-66 6.6 mies in the world. Our God has humce bled

Natives in the most open and bare-faced manner imaginable, and treated them like slaves. The Indians were not insensible of this usage; but were asraid to do themselves justice, till they heared that all New-England was involved in a bloody war, when they plainly told the English, they would bear their insults no longer." " bled us. Is it not a very humbling thing, that when the number of our enemies afterwards increasing, yet an hand"ful of them should, for so many summers together, continue our unconquered spoilers, and put us to such vast charges, that if we would have bought them for an hundred pounds a head, we should

" have made a saving bargain of it.

" Our God has humbled us." \*

What an instructive lesson may the rulers of government, and the people, gather from this pathetic lamentation; how ought it to induce us diligently to labour for the maintenance of Peace and Friendship with all our Indian neighbours.

How ought we to look up to God, the common Father of the family of mankind, requesting he would enable us to fow the feeds of Benevolence and Mercy, carefully avoiding those of War and Destruction.

It

† Ibid. page 307. " Every person almost, in-

<sup>\*</sup> Hutchipson, vol. 2, p. 4, fays, "The province of Massachusetts, in the course of fixty years, hath been at greater expense, and hath lost more of its inhabitants, than all the other colonies upon the continent."

It was, very probably, the want of fuch a care in the people of New-England, particularly in the lamentable destruction of the Pequot Indians, tho' perpetrated many years before, which produced the grievous crop of calamity and diffress here complained of; for however time and changes may veil past transactions, and remove them from fight, and the remembrance of men, yet they will remain, as present, in the view of Divine Purity; and whilst unrepented of, will, tho' covered, as with dirt and drofs, remain as engraven on a rock, which when the overflowing stream prevails, and that time of general inquiry, comes, when fecret things shall be revealed, will appear as a testimony against transgressors.

The Annals of New-England informs us, that the first settlers met with kind treatment from the Natives, even when they were few, and so sickly, that in the first winter, one half of their number

died.

Hutchinson,

the two colonies, had loft a relation or near friend."

Hutchinson, observes, "That the Natives shewed courtesy to the Engilish, at their first arrival; were hois spitable, and made such as would eat their food, welcome to it, and readily 
instructed them in the planting and culitivating the Indian Corn. Some of the 
English who lost themselves in the woods, 
and must otherwise have perished with 
famine, they relieved and conducted 
home."

It was about fifteen years after, when the fettlement on the Connecticut river, was making speedy advances towards the country of the Pequots, that differences arose between those Indians and the English; some traders were killed, whether thro' the fault of the Indians, or White People, is uncertain, as each blamed the other; the Indians, however, shewed a great desire to maintain peace between them and the English, for which purpose Neal observes, "They twice sent depu-" ties to Boston, with presents," which might with patience and forbearance, thro' the bleffing of God, have been improved; but the English insisting on the delivery of the persons concerned, which the Indians delaying to comply with, perhaps for want of power, the English

ec fell upon them, slew several, firing their wigwams, and spoiling their corn, &c." which enraged the Indians to fuch a degree, that, giving up their endeavours for peace, they attacked the fort on Connecticut river; flew feveral persons; and carried away two maidens, who were afterwards returned. Upon this, the different New-England governments concluded to unite their forces, to destroy those Indians; which was so effectually done, that Captain Underhill, who was a principal Commander in that expedition, in his book intitled News from America, page 2, tells us, "Those Indians, the Pequots, were drove out of their country, and slain, by the sword, to the number of fifteen hundred souls, in the space of two months or less; so as their country is fully subdued, and fallen into " the hands of the English."

Hutchinson fays, "This was the first

" action between the English and Indians; the policy, as well as the morality of which, he observes, may well be questioned." And he adds, "The Indians have ever shewn great barbarity to their English captives; the English, in too many in-

ftances, have retaliated it. This has only enraged them the more. Besides,

F. G. Hore. Deplaces

to destroy women and children, for the 66 barbarity of their husbands, cannot be " easily justified. Many of the captives " were sent to Bermudas, and sold for slaves." \*

This account of the destruction of the Pequot Indians, is by no means intended as a reflection on the people of New-England; fensible, that it is now long fince many amongst them, have been foremost in furnishing instances of the bleffing attendant on the extension of friendly measures, and a commendable care for the civil and religious welfare of the Indians; as well as they have of late years, shewn an examplary and praiseworthy concern for doing justice to the oppressed Africans: but only for this necessary purpose, that the dreadful experience of former times, may be, as instructive cautions in our future transactions

<sup>\*</sup> Neal, page 23, observes, relating to those. Pequot Indians, "That they made a noble stand against the united force of New-England, and would certainly have defended their country against the encroachment of the English, if the Narragansets, their inveterate enemies, had not affished the English to destroy them."

actions with our Indian neighbours, in the feveral fettlements now likely to be made on lands belonging to them, or claimed by them. Indeed we cannot be too weighty in confidering how we lay our foundation for future happiness or misery; as our Saviour's declaration will be verified often, in time, and cerstainly in eternity: That as we fow we shall reap; and with that measure we meet, it shall be measured to us again. And altho' the children are not accountable for the iniquity of their fathers; yet where the children are basking and rejoicing in the ease and plenty they enjoy thro' the fins of their fathers, as is peculiarly the case of those, who are posfessed of estates procured by hard meafures towards Indians, or thro' the op-pression of the Negroes; these as they rejoice in those possessions, which the S I N has produced, cannot expect otherwise than, to be partakers in the PLAGUE.

Upon the whole, if the peace and fafety of the inhabitants of our wide extended frontiers; the lives and welfare of fo many innocent and helpless people, depends on the maintenance of a friendly intercourse with our Indian neighbours,

bours, what greater instances of patriotism, of love to God and mankind, can be shewn, than to promote, to the utmost of our power, not only the civilization of these uncultivated people, whom Providence has, as it were, cast under our care; but also their establishment, in a pious and virtuous life. On the other hand, what greater injury can be done to our country, than to diffuse, amongst the thoughtless part of the people, a disposition, and promote a conduct, tending not only to deprive us of the advantage, which a friendly intercourse with them may produce; \* but by raising their enmity

<sup>\*</sup> As it is expected that measures are now taking to procure a free communication with the Indian Country, whereby an extensive trade with the Natives will probably take place, and which, under proper regulation, may prove very beneficial, or the contrary, if left to the management of the Traders, who have generally no other view but gain. Is it not an object worthy the peculiar notice of the different Legislatures, that a special guard be had against the evil consequences which will certainly attend, if an effectual restraint is not laid on the introduction of spirituous liquors, and other abuse, amongst the Indians.

53 )

mity and wrath, expose the country to those grievous calamities, which an Indian war often has, and will again, undoubtedly produce.

APPENDIX.





## APPENDIX.

I neral Boquet's expedition against the Ohio Indians, published under his inspection, in 1,25, we meet with a ma-fighting men of the different Indian na-rs of the norther and fouthern di-amounting to -65, we meet with a lift of the of North-America, amounting to d and eightion oufand, five hundre ordians Stricts v. chiefly, of fuch in fifty-fix the re connected with in ty, confisting, as the French we. 'ere told may be Canada and Louisiana tters of this This account we are the truth, bedepended upon, so far as ma. kind can be brought near the .. ing given by a French trader of corable note, who had resided many you amongst the Indians.

The publisher of that account, a perfon of reputation, now in this city, who has for many years made matters relating

to

to Indians his particular study, tells us, "That so large a number of fighting men may startle us at first fight; but the account seems no where exaggerated, excepting only that the Calawba nation (mentioned in the list to be 150 gun-men) is now almost extinct.

In some nations which we are acquainted with, the account falls, even short of their numbers; and some others do not appear to be mentioned at all, or at least not by any name known to us: Such for instance, are the lower Creeks, of whom we have a list, according to their towns. In this list their warriors of gun-men are 1180, and their inhabitants about 6000. Thus a comparative judgment may be formed of the nations above-mentioned; the number of whose inhabitants will (in this proportion to the warriors, viz. sive to one) be about 283000."

From the above account of the num-

From the above account of the number of Indians known to us, besides those we are unacquainted with, how important must it appear, to every sensible feeling mind, that a friendly intercourse be maintained with them, as well from our duty as Christians, as the great advantage which would arise from a well regulated trade; and the dreadful distress and suf-

ferings

ferings, which a disagreement with them might bring upon so vast a number of helpless people, on our long extended frontiers.\*

In

\* To those who profess that peaceable principle, which implies a full reliance upon the Divine protection, the number, or apparent power of any

adversaries is of little weight.

But it is to be observed, these are quotations from authors, not of the same peaceable profession, and are therefore considered as proper to inform those readers, who, not grounded in this peaceable uniting principle, are of contrary sentiments, of the necessity they are under, even as prudent men, upon their own principles, to conci-

liate the friendship of the natives.

The common affertion, that if friendly and pacific measures were alone pursued, the property of those so disposed, would become a prey to every invader. But this affertion cannot be allowed as valid, except we believe that "the Lord has forsaken the earth;" Ezek. ix 19. but, "if the Lord reigneth," Pi. Ixliii. 1. and "we tear his name, he will be a wall of fire round about us." Zach. ii. 5.

And whatever suffering is permitted to come upon any, on account of their sidelity to what they may think their duty requires, in the support of that peaceable government of Christ, the encrease of which, we are teld by the prophet Isaiah, there is to be no end; as in the case of the Moravian Indians, it will be but as a deliverance from their troubles in this world, and of a more exceeding

weight of glory, in that which is to come.

In the history of the British dominions in North-America, already mentioned, 2d. vol. page 68, we meet with the following instructive observations: "The perpetual increasing generations of Europeans, in America, may supply numbers that must in the end wear out these poor Indian inhabitants from their Country; but we shall pay dear, both in blood and treasure, in the mean while, for our

injustice.

Our frontiers, from the nature of advancing fettlements dispersed along the branchings of the upper parts of our rivers, and scattered in the disunited valleys, amidst the mountains, must be always unguarded and defenceless against the incursions of Indians. The farmer driven from his little cultured lot, in the woods, is lost: The Indian in the woods, is every where at home; every bush, every thicket, is a camp to the Indian; from whence, at the very moment when he is fure of his blow, he can rush upon his prey. In short, our frontier settlements must ever lie at the mercy of the favages; and a fettler is the natural prey to an Indian, whose fole occupation is war and hunting. To

To countries circumstanced as our colonies are, an Indian is the most dreadful of enemies. For in a war with Indians, no force whatever, can defend our frontiers from being a constant wretched scene of conslagrations, and of the most shocking murders. Whereas on the contrary, our temporary expeditions against the Indians, even if successful, can do them little harm. Every article of their property is portable, which they always carry with them; and it is no great matter of distress to an Indian, to be driven from his dwelling ground, who finds a home in the first place he sits down upon."

## I I N I S.

















